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Migrant Networks across Borders: The Case of Brazilian Entrepreneurs in Japan

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Abstract. Classical studies on migration as those of the Chicago school emphasized the social disorganization of migrants. However, migration researchers have regarded social networks as the key to understanding migration processes. Social capital generated by migrant networks is now considered as essential for the social mobility of migrants. Indeed, the contrasting views of migrant networks are too simple to clarify the dynamic processes of network formation. Few studies have tested how migrant networks are changing in host societies, which ties are transplanted from the home country, and which of them are utilized. This paper aims to clarify the missing link between pre-migration and post-migration social networks, examining the multiplicity of migrants' social networks. This study tested three hypotheses of social capital on Brazilian entrepreneurs in Japan. By analyzing the social capital these migrant entrepreneurs mobilized to start businesses, this study found that while most depended on social capital in the initial phase of their businesses, they relied less on social relationships transplanted to Japan than on other sources. In addition, Brazilian entrepreneurs selectively used different sources of social capital. These results show that migrants selectively maintain and reconstruct social networks in the process of migration.

Keywords: *migrant network, ethnic business, Japanese Brazilians*

1. Introduction

Migrant networks have been the key to understanding various aspects of migration phenomena for the past 30 years. Researchers of migrant networks regard migrants as social actors embedded in networks through close-knit ties that connect their destination with their place of origin. These ties influence the volume and direction of migration flows, the ability of migrants to learn the ropes at their destination, the making of immigrant niches, the educational performance of immigrant children, and so on. The vitality of migration networks even brings

unintended consequences to immigration policies and helps to overcome the migrants' disadvantaged status as ethnic minorities at their country of destination (Portes, 1997).

However, the multiplicity of factors in the formation and function of migrant networks is yet to be explored. The purpose of this paper is to focus on the continuity of migrant networks before and after migration, using the data of Brazilian migrant entrepreneurs in Japan. The basic questions are if transmigrants sustain social networks brought from home and if they construct new relations at their destinations. To answer these questions it is necessary to make a careful distinction between personal ties formed in places of origin before migration, hereafter referred to as *pre-migration networks*, and those constructed at destinations after migration, hereafter referred to as *post-migration networks*.

2. Social Networks and Social Capital

2.1 Social Networks of International Migrants: from Disorganization to Solidarity

As mentioned above, there have been two answers to the question of how migrants adapt themselves to new environments at their destinations, the *disorganization-assimilation model* and the *solidarity-ethnicization model*. Handlin (1951) presented the former model, arguing that immigrants have been uprooted from their origins and exist in a prolonged state of crisis, in the sense of being and remaining unsettled. In the end, they become assimilated and remade as, in the cases he studied, Americans.

Chicago sociologists as Wirth (1934) were the originators of such disorganization-assimilation theses. Park and Miller (1921) characterized immigrants as being subject to the disorganization of primary groups and increased deviance, yet their ethnographic articles are not always consistent with their thesis. Indeed, they also pointed out the salience of chain migration, spatial segmentation along with the place of origin, and institutions for mutual assistance. However, their research had hardly gone beyond the social disorganization thesis, although they found a variety of migrant communities composed of social networks.

Tilly and Brown's (1967) seminal work on migration networks presented the solidarity-ethnicization thesis in opposition to the disintegration-assimilation thesis. Criticizing the situation in which the 'ghost of Park' was still alive, they emphasized the importance of networks in the migration process. Referring to William Whyte's *Street Corners Society,* Tilly and Brown (1967) presented the

following thesis:

> If we suppose that extensive personal relations are actually common in cities, and that such relations often ease the pain of abrupt shifts in social position, we can conclude that the sequence going from migration to personal disorganization to social disorganization will in fact be fairly rare. (p. 140)

The development of urban anthropology, as well as the increasing number of empirical studies on migration after the revision of U.S. immigration law in 1965, resulted in a paradigm shift from disorganization to solidarity (Brettel, 2000). Migrants are not uprooted from their cultures and societies of origin, but transplant them into their countries of destination. This type of viewpoint strongly influenced such studies of American migration history as Bodnar (1985), which looked into the development of the social institutions that support chain migration and the resilience of social ties. Ostergren (1988) described the formation of mother-and-daughter communities between Sweden and the United States. Chain migration brings transplanted social relations as well as residential concentrations in destination cities (Bodnar, 1985; Ostergren, 1988).

In terms of contemporary migration, Massey et al. (1987), Massey and Durand (2002), and Durand and Massey (2005) collected a vast amount of data on migration from Mexico to the United States, clarifying the formation process of mother-and- daughter communities across the border. Massey (1990) argued that every new migrant creates a set of friends and relatives with social ties to someone with valuable migrant experience. Through migrant networks, new arrivals find jobs and housing and learn the ropes at the destination through interactions in daughter communities.

In contrast to the atomized and isolated images of early studies, Gurak and Caces (1992) described migrants as actors embedded in ties with family, kin, and friends, explaining migrant behavior through their social networks. Networks provide not only tangible resources, but also psychological relief to newcomers, thereby smoothing their adaptation to host societies. Migrant networks that range from the place of origin to destinations may even be considered a necessary condition for massive migration (Gurak & Caces, 1992).

It is true that migrant networks facilitate migration flows and adaptation at destinations, but there still remains much to be explored about them. Though various articles have referred to the multiplicity of these networks' functions, few scholars have paid attention to the effects of their different sources on migration

processes. Networks have tacitly been regarded to be continuous from their places of origin. Massey et al. (1987) described transplanted neighborhood ties by noting that:

> There, people from Santiago began to meet every Sunday, bringing their families for free diversion and entertainment. The field, nicknamed '*Los Patos*' ('The Ducks') by the townspeople, became an obligatory place of reunion for all *paisanos*. It became the focal point of the out-migrant community, the place where one made dates, obtained work, located friends, welcomed new arrivals, and exchanged news of the town itself. (p. 146)

However, Massey et al. (1987) made no reference to networks constructed after migration, although migrant networks are both retained from the place origin and developed at destinations. For example, Japanese migrants in Peru started their businesses by mobilizing both such pre-migration networks as families and neighbors from their places of origin and such post-migration networks as *kenjin* (those of the same prefectural origin), fellow passengers on ships from Japan to Peru, and colleagues at colonies (Akagi 2000).

Networks go along with migrants, but they have diverse sources which influence their strength and functions. It is therefore necessary to answer the questions of how migrant networks are transplanted to destinations, how they are constructed at destinations, which networks are used in specific contexts, and how they serve specific purposes.

2.2 Immigrant Businesses and Social Capital

Studies on immigrant businesses have increasingly focused on the role of entrepreneurs' social networks (Light & Gold, 2000; Portes, 1995; Waldinger et al. 1990). Social networks are the primary source of social capital, which Portes (1995) defined as "the capacity of individuals to command scarce resources by virtue of their membership in networks or broader social structures" (p. 12).

Networks of family, kin, and friends serve as providers of social capital to start businesses, since most immigrants are not rich in other sources of capital (Min, 1988; Portes & Bach, 1985; Yoon, 1997). However, networks have not been extensively examined in terms of how differences in the characteristics of a variety of networks generate different resources (Yoo, 1998). It is a matter of course that networks help to initialize and expand immigrant businesses. Research on migrant networks and immigrant businesses must go beyond the simplistic notion of immigrant social capital.

Yoo's (1998) study of Korean entrepreneurs in America is worth noting because he clarified some different functions of different networks. Distinguishing between family and social networks in order to analyze their different functions,[1] he found that social networks tended to be the fundamental resource for information mobilization, whereas family networks had only a minor influence. He also found that, in contrast, financial capital tended to be mobilized through family networks far more frequently than through social networks. These results suggest support for Granovetter's (1973) view of the different functions of strong and weak ties.

However, Yoo's (1998) typology is still inadequate for analyzing differences between pre-migration and post-migration networks. It is true that migrants bring family and kinship networks from their places of origin, but they also maintain their social networks, as most migrant-network theory has emphasized. Rather than distinguishing between family and social networks, it seems more useful to make a distinction between pre-migration and post-migration networks.

This paper's next step, then, is to address the issues of the extent to which pre-migration networks are maintained, how new ones are created after migration, and how differently pre-migration and post-migration networks function.

2.3 Hypotheses

To address these issues, this paper will present several hypotheses about the origins and functions of migrant networks.[2]

On the origins of social networks

Networks can be divided into those formed before migration and after migration. As the Chicago sociologists emphasized, networks may also be lost at destinations, isolating migrants. The point here is how migration affects the ingredients of migrants' social networks. Brazilian migrant entrepreneurs in Japan may hold ties with families, relatives, and friends they knew before migration, lose

[1] Family networks are "based on connections with family or relatives which Korean immigrants already had in America before immigration", and social networks are "based on connections with members in the community other than family or relatives, which Korean immigrants after immigration by entering the ethnic community, and which often reflect the immigrants' human capital and socio-economic background in the country of origin" (Yoo, 1998: 107).

[2] To formulate these hypotheses, the community question of urban sociology such as Fischer (1982) and Wellman (1979) was useful.

connections and become isolated, or become acquainted with Brazilian colleagues and Japanese neighbors after migration. Combining these conditions suggests three hypotheses about the origins of social networks, a *disorganization hypothesis*, a *resilience hypothesis*, and a *reorganization hypothesis*.

The disorganization hypothesis suggests that Brazilian migrants lose most of their social relationships after migration and do not construct new networks in Japan, leading to their social disorganization. This means that migrant Brazilian entrepreneurs cannot rely on social capital for establishing businesses, although human and financial capital are crucial for this.

The resilience hypothesis suggests that Brazilian migrants transplant and maintain their pre-migration social networks after arriving in Japan. As the migrant systems theory suggests, places of origin and destination are connected by chain migration, establishing mother-and-daughter communities across borders (Massey et al. 1987), and when migrants start their businesses they obtain the necessary social capital exclusively from their pre-migration networks.

The reorganization hypothesis suggests that Brazilian migrants selectively retain their ties from Brazil and construct new ones after migration. They also use these ties selectively in accordance with the resources they need when they start their businesses.

On the functions of social networks

Social networks can be divided into those with strong ties and those with weak ties, each serving different purposes (Granovetter, 1973). They provide three resources necessary to start up businesses: experience, information and guarantee, and finance (Bailey & Waldinger, 1991; Min, 1988). Following Granovetter (1973) and Yoo (1998), functions of these ties can be hypothesized as either weak or strong.

The strong tie hypothesis suggests that networks with family and relatives are composed of strong ties which are usually stable and difficult to dissolve. Strong ties are crucial for mobilizing financial capital, something which requires a high level of mutual trust, but their homogeneity tends to limit the capacity to gain access to the other two types of resources.

The weak tie hypothesis suggests that networks with Brazilian friends made both before and after migration, or with Japanese acquaintances, can be regarded as constituting weak ties. Though weak ties are of little use for mobilizing financial

capital, their heterogeneity tends to facilitate the gaining of experience and of information and guarantee.

3. Brazilians in Japan: Overview and Data Collection

3.1 Data and Sample

The principal source of data for this study is a set of two mutually related studies. The first was a study of Brazilian entrepreneurs conducted between February and October 1997, involving interviews with the owners of 78 Brazilian businesses in Japan. Since no complete list of Brazilian enterprises was available, this study could not use the random sampling method. Instead, the researchers constructed a list using four Portuguese newspapers, several magazines, brochures, and personal acquaintances, visiting each business owner as often as possible. All but a few of the Brazilian entrepreneurs contacted agreed to the interviews.

This study collected its second data set through a survey questionnaire distributed to 2,054 Brazilian employees working in Japanese factories. The survey required the collaboration of 30 labor contractors and was conducted between January and March 1998. The contractors distributed the questionnaire to the Brazilian employees, who responded to it.

The data indicated that entrepreneurs are rich in human capital. Forty percent of the entrepreneurs enrolled in universities, compared with 19% of the factory workers (see Table 1). In addition, 43% of the entrepreneurs had been self-employed or business owners in Brazil. In this context, however, what is more important is the quality of social capital that the entrepreneurs mobilized to initiate their businesses. Only three (4%) used financial capital brought from Brazil, the vast majority accumulated their capital while working in Japan. Instead of financial capital, they transplanted human capital accumulated in Brazil, leaving the question of how social capital was developed before and after migration.

Table 1 Education of entrepreneurs and factory workers

	Entrepreneurs		Factory workers	
	No	%	No	%
Primary	10	13	618	30.9
Secondary	36	46.7	996	49.7
Tertiary	31	40.3	389	19.4
Total	77	100	2003	100

3.2 Brazilian Entrepreneurs in Japan

The registered population of Brazilians in Japan is shown in table 2.[3] The figure reveals that the number suddenly increased in 1988, followed by skyrocketing growth from 1989 to 1991, although the return migration of the first generation had already started in the early 1980s (Higuchi, 2003). It should also be noted that the number of Brazilians in Japan basically increased even after the collapse of the bubble economy in 1991. Though Latin American population rapidly decreased after the economic crisis in September 2008, more than 300,000 Brazilians lived in Japan as of the end of 2008, comprising Japan's third largest non-Japanese nationality group after the Koreans and the Chinese.

Table 2 Foreign and Latin American Population in Japan

	total	Brazil	Peru	Bolivia	Argentine	Paraguay
1989	984,455	14,528	4,121	238	1,704	471
1990	1,075,317	56,429	10,279	496	2,656	672
1991	1,218,891	119,333	26,281	1,766	3,366	1,052
1992	1,281,644	147,803	31,051	2,387	3,289	1,174
1993	1,320,748	154,650	33,169	2,932	2,934	1,080
1994	1,354,011	159,619	35,382	2,917	2,796	1,129
1995	1,362,371	176,440	36,269	2,765	2,910	1,176
1996	1,415,136	201,795	37,099	2,913	3,079	1,301
1997	1,482,707	233,254	40,394	3,337	3,300	1,466
1998	1,512,116	222,217	41,317	3,461	2,962	1,441
1999	1,556,113	224,299	42,773	3,578	2,924	1,464
2000	1,686,444	254,394	46,171	3,915	3,072	1,678
2001	1,778,462	265,962	50,052	4,409	3,229	1,779
2002	1,851,758	268,332	51,772	4,869	3,470	1,895
2003	1,915,030	274,700	53,649	5,161	3,700	2,035
2004	1,973,747	286,557	55,750	5,655	3,739	2,152
2005	2,011,555	302,080	57,728	6,139	3,834	2,287
2006	2,084,919	312,979	58,721	6,327	3,863	2,439
2007	2,152,973	316,967	59,696	6,505	3,849	2,556
2008	2,217,426	312,582	59,723	6,527	3,777	2,542

Source: Ministry of Justice (1990-2009)

Brazilians as a nationality group are not only characterized by the return migration of Japanese descendants, but also by their homogeneity in the Japanese

[3] Since the first generation and the second generation with Japanese nationality are not counted as Brazilians, they are excluded from this statistics.

labor market. The percentage of their population that is working is much higher than the other groups listed in Table 3. Since a great majority of Brazilians are employed by labor contractors as a flexible workforce (Higuchi & Tanno, 2003), the ratio of employees among the working population is also high. As a result, although the Japanese in Brazil are known as a middleman minority group operating small businesses, employers and the self-employed comprise only 2.2% of the Brazilians in Japan, which is among the lowest among major migrant groups in Japan on table 3.

Table 3 Employment Status of Foreigners in Japan (2005)

Nationality	Respondents	Working Population		Employees		Employers/ Self-Employees	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Brazil	215,487	140,830	65.4	137,715	97.8	3,115	2.2
China	353,437	185,738	52.6	167,315	90.1	18,423	9.9
Indonesia	18,379	12,909	70.2	12,644	97.9	265	2.1
Korea/North Korea	472,711	225,888	47.8	144,990	64.2	80,898	35.8
Peru	40,444	22,552	55.8	21,837	96.8	715	3.2
Philippines	126,486	64,185	50.7	59,845	93.2	4,340	6.8
Thailand	27,129	11,366	41.9	9,964	87.7	1,402	12.3
Vietnam	20,901	11,467	54.9	10,876	94.8	592	5.2
Total	1,555,505	772,375	49.7	647,004	83.8	125,371	16.2

Source: Ministry of Public Management, Home Affairs, Posts and Telecommunications Japan (2008)

Nevertheless, because of the larger population compared to other newcomer groups, the absolute number of entrepreneurs is not negligible. Although Brazilian businesses developed within the boundaries of an ethnic protected market, a variety of business activities flourished in the 1990s (Kajita et al., 2005). Opportunity structures were opened for potential entrepreneurs with rich in human capital by serving as co-ethnics, enabling upward mobility to a part of the population[4].

[4] Brazilian communities are primarily formed around these businesses; most community leaders are entrepreneurs.

4. Sources of Social Capital among Brazilian Entrepreneurs

This study analyzed the respondents' social capital mobilization from the point of view of network utilization. Since cooperation and assistance for business activities require a high degree of trust, an analysis of the entrepreneurs' social capital should enable the clarification of which ties are important and which are not. As mentioned above, this study separates pre-migration and post-migration networks. The former is composed of three networks. These are family (parents, children, and siblings), relatives (aunts, uncles, nieces, nephews, and cousins), and pre-migration friends (those other than family and relatives with whom they were acquainted in Brazil before migration). The latter consists of two networks. These are post-migration friends (Brazilians encountered in Japan after migration), and Japanese friends and acquaintances.

4.1 Origins of Social Networks

The relationship between the types of networks and the degree of contribution varied in importance. Table 4 shows how the respondents depended on each network, indicating a factor ranging from 0 to 3 for contributions to finance, experience, and information and guarantee. Examining the factors contributing to these networks leads to the consideration of three hypotheses about the origins of social networks.

Table 4 Sources of social capital at the initial phase of businesses

Contribution factor	Post-migration friends		Pre-migration friends		Japanese		family		relatives	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
0 (lowest)	37	47.4	69	88.5	40	51.3	39	50.0	72	92.3
1	25	32.1	6	7.7	28	35.9	32	41.0	6	7.7
2	13	16.7	3	3.8	7	9.0	7	9.0	0	0.0
3 (highest)	3	3.8	0	0.0	3	3.8	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	78	100.0	78	100.0	78	100.0	78	100.0	78	100.0
average	0.63		0.14		0.59		0.53		0.10	

Disorganization hypothesis

During our interviews, only four of 78 entrepreneurs answered that they had no dependence on social networks. Most respondents relied on some kind of

contribution, and the average contribution factor was 1.7. In this sense, the disorganization hypothesis is a null hypothesis in regard to Brazilian entrepreneurs in Japan, as they overwhelmingly succeeded in mobilizing social capital to start their businesses.

Resilience hypothesis

A more careful look at Table 4 suggests that the contributions of family, post-migration friends, and Japanese associates were much higher than those of pre-migration friends and relatives. About half of the respondents were supported by each one of the former, while only 10% relied on the latter. This result is ambivalent in regard to the resilience hypothesis. Family networks functioned well for business formation, but pre-migration friends and relatives were of little importance. In general, the premise of the resilience hypothesis is embodied by the case of Jose.[5]

Jose, age 41, is a restaurant owner with a telephone agency in Hamamatsu City. A university-graduate engineer, he was also a co-owner of a hamburger shop. He came to Japan in 1991 to work in a motor factory, but was laid off in the summer of 1994. His two business partners, the co-owners of the hamburger shop, were also in Japan and had been laid off at that time, so they decided to reopen their business. When they opened a grocery store in Hamamatsu in 1995, a Brazilian entrepreneur engaged in several businesses consulted and stood guarantee for them.

Jose opened his shop by investing $30,000, as did each of his two partners, whom he had met in Brazil. However, his case is relatively exceptional, as Table 4 indicates. In addition, a post-migration Brazilian friend also consulted with him as the business predecessor. Relatives had even less of a presence, though Alex, the second case, relied on his wife's cousin for guarantee.

Alex is a German Brazilian who came to Japan in 1993 at the age of 29 with his wife, a third-generation descendant of Japanese migrants. They had both been systems engineers in Brazil and had planned to open a computer school there. However, when they went back to Brazil for a temporary visit they found plenty of computer schools already there, which made them to change their plans. As a result, they determined to open a school in Japan. Since Alex's wife's cousin had already opened a barber shop in the town of Oizumi, they moved there and relied

[5] All names used in this section are pseudonyms.

on her for guarantee.

It is safe to say that part of the pre-migration networks were sustained and mobilized, but relatively weak ties with relatives and friends were not transplanted to Japan.

Reorganization hypothesis

The results shown in Table 4 seem more compatible with the reorganization hypothesis. As mentioned above, primary sources for social capital are from both of the pre-migration (family) and post-migration (Brazilian-migrant friends and Japanese associates) networks. Migrant Brazilian entrepreneurs selectively utilize these networks for different purposes. Marcos, for example, experienced on-the-job training for entrepreneurship and gained information and guarantee from his Japanese employer and received financial capital from his family. He could open his meat grocery four years after his arrival because of his utilization of various sources of social capital.

Marcos came to Japan at the age of 34 in 1991, and worked in a construction company for two years. Then he and his wife changed jobs to a Brazilian grocery store owned by a Japanese, in which they learned how to manage a food business and accumulated capital to open their own shop.

Sandra, age 23, was assisted by her family and post-migration friends. Though her salary in Japan was only two-thirds of that of male workers, partnership and assistance from her father paved the way for her entrepreneurship.

She opened a grocery store in 1996. Her father had come to Japan in 1990 and worked in Toyota City. Though she had moved to Japan in 1993 with her mother and brothers, they did not join their father since the labor recruiter did not offer them work in Toyota. She worked in a Suzuki factory in Kosai City for two years before changing her job to working in a grocery store owned by a Brazilian. Learning the necessary knowledge to start a business there, she started her own shop with her colleague Fabio and her father's colleague Mario. Her father loaned her $15,000 and a Japanese labor contractor stood for guarantee to rent the shop.

Nelson, the biggest Brazilian importer/wholesaler at the time of this study, started his business as a side job, delivering foods on holidays with his factory colleague Carlos. As was the case with Carlos and Nelson, factory colleagues are important sources of post-migration friendship, since they work long hours together, even on holidays occasionally.

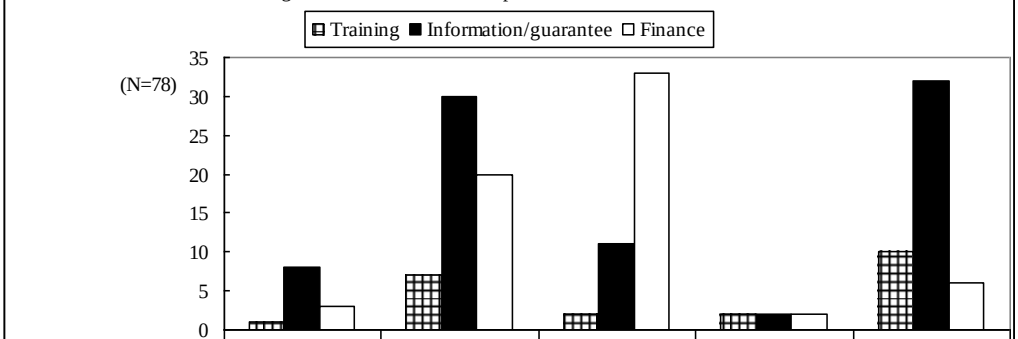
Nelson was 23 years old when he arrived in Japan in 1991. He worked in a motor factory, where he became acquainted with Carlos. He and Carlos started a food delivery business on holidays in 1993, while working in the factory on weekdays. Their luck enabled them to expand the business, opening two grocery stores in Hamamatsu City. They divided their business in 1996. Nelson became the owner of the retail division and Carlos obtained the trade and wholesale division.

It is easier for migrants to establish post-migration friendships than to keep ties with pre-migration friends. These results show that migrants are unlikely to activate non-family pre-migration networks. Family, however, appears usually to be an insufficient resource for starting businesses, and therefore potential entrepreneurs have sought assistance from Japanese associates and post-migration Brazilian friends.

4.2 Functions of Migrant Networks

If Brazilians' networks are reorganized in Japan, how are these networks functionally differentiated? Figure 1 shows the relationships between different networks and the resources they provide. Among the three resources, information and guarantee are most often mobilized, followed by finance. Here emphasis should be placed on the differentiation of each network's ability to supply these three resources.

Figure 1 Sources of social capital at the start of businesses



	Pre-migration friend	Post-migration friend	Family	Kin	Japanese
Training	1	7	2	2	10
Information/guarantee	8	30	11	2	32
Finance	3	20	33	2	6

Strong tie hypothesis

As the strong tie hypothesis suggests, family networks are the primary source of financial contributions to investment, but are of limited efficiency as the source of information and guarantee. Therefore, the presence of family networks supports the strong-tie hypothesis. It is also noteworthy that migrant Brazilian entrepreneurs in Japan show no tendency to employ kinship networks. Although they should be next strongest after family networks, ties with relatives are virtually disconnected in Japan.

Weak tie hypothesis

It is the Japanese who most support the weak tie hypothesis. They are the top providers of information and guarantee to migrant Brazilian entrepreneurs, especially standing guarantees for room rent. It is also the case with experience, since Japanese businesses oriented to the Brazilian market often employ Brazilian migrants. They are, however, much less important for financial assistance. Japanese associates are not important business partners for migrant Brazilian entrepreneurs, but they are useful with heterogeneous resources that are not available within Brazilian communities. The case of Bardes embodies the strength of weak ties in which Japanese associates offer information.

Bardes is not a typical Brazilian migrant, as he came to Japan at the age of 26 in 1992 to work in his uncle's Portuguese press company. He later moved to an import-export company his uncle owned, through which he participated in a local Junior Chamber of Commerce (JC). When he started a restaurant, his membership in the JC brought him know-how and provided guarantee.

This study's findings in regard to post-migration Brazilian friends as resources for migrant Brazilian entrepreneurs in Japan are more complex. They support the weak tie hypothesis by finding that such friends are the next most important providers of experience and information and guarantee after Japanese associates, but are also prominent as sources of financial contributions. In this sense, post-migration Brazilian friends produce much stronger ties than relatives.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

5.1. Discussion

This study has examined the social capital mobilization of migrant Brazilian entrepreneurs in Japan to clarify the continuity and discontinuity of their networks. Among the three hypotheses proposed for the origins of social networks, the

study's findings most strongly supported the reorganization hypothesis. In terms of pre-migration networks, families were the primary source of financial capital, while relatives and pre-migration friends were of little help in starting up businesses. In this sense, Brazilian migrants seem to transplant only family networks as reliable sources of social capital.

Instead, migrant Brazilian entrepreneurs in Japan constructed post-migration networks with Japanese associates and fellow Brazilians they met in Japan. In terms of post-migration networks, their ties with Japanese associates are consistent with the weak tie hypothesis, as these provided resources other than financial capital. More important, however, were their post-migration Brazilian friends, who were found to be contributors of all necessary resources. Once deprived of many ties left at their place of origin, the migrant Brazilian entrepreneurs studied reorganized new networks at their Japanese destinations. This study also found that those who could construct new relations in the new environment were capable of starting businesses. They carefully reconstructed networks in Japan and selectively utilized them to maximize their resources.

These findings suggest modifications to conventional migrant network theory. Werbner's (1990) anthropological study on Pakistanis in Britain described social networks transplanted from Pakistan as strong ties, while regarding ethnic networks formed around neighborhoods and workplaces as weak ties. This, however, is not the case with Brazilians in Japan. When they migrated to Japan, kinship and friendship ties did not cross the border. Instead, they formed strong ties with colleagues in their workplaces, which complemented the loss of pre-migration networks. In this sense, migrant networks are more volatile than the conventional theory suggests.

5.2 Conclusion

Two things can be pointed out to conclude this paper. The first is in regard to the structure of the immigrant community. In the so-called Brazilian towns as Hamamatsu and Oizumi, a variety of such ethnic institutions as businesses, religious organizations, football clubs, and cultural circles have been developed. It seems to be indeed the emergence of little Brazils which migrants have transplanted from their country of origin.

However, such a simplistic notion should be modified. The formation of immigrant institutions does not always accompany the transplantation of social networks. The data suggested only the strongest networks, such as families, were

maintained after migration. In the case of Brazilians in Japan, it is increasingly Brazilian co-workers, rather than chain migration, who serve as incubators for entrepreneurship.

The second point concerns the correlation between types of migration systems and migrant communities. According to Werbner (1990), interactions between mother (in her study, Pakistan) and daughter (in her study, England) communities are vigorous among the first generation, while networks with school and workplace fellows are more important for the second generation. The second-generation Pakistani migrants studied reorganized social networks, partly taking over their parents' social relations. Moreover, Grieco (1998) examined the effect of migration systems on the establishment of Indian communities in Fiji. Since Indians migrated to Fiji as contract workers for plantations, labor recruiters, rather than personal networks, promoted these migration flows. As a corollary, the social networks among the Indian community in Fiji have been reconstructed since migration.

In the case of Brazilian migration to Japan, this study's analysis found that only family networks were transplanted, and found little evidence of chain migration beyond family networks. This is because Brazilian migration has been driven by networks of labor recruiters, which can be called market-mediated migration systems (Kajita, Tanno & Higuchi 2005). Market-mediated migration systems are highly responsive to the demand for migrant labor, rather than to communal ties, and thus enable what can be considered an economically optimal allocation of the workforce. However, they have brought about the loss of pre-migration networks and forced the construction of post-migration networks.

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